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Introduction

Mori Ōgai (1862-1922) was something of a Renaissance man, a polymath who not only became surgeon general of the Imperial army but was also a novelist and a prolific translator of European and American literature. In addition to translating Goethe and Hauptmann, Ōgai[1] also translated the work of less well-known writers like the now almost forgotten Wilhelm Schäfer. It is Ōgai's translation of Schäfer's "Der Amerikawillm" (1897) that is the subject of this paper. Despite the relative obscurity of Ōgai's translation (it first appeared in the journal *Joshibundan* in April 1912) it was appropriated by Kurahashi Yumiko (1935-2005) in the nineteen-eighties and used as the basis of her fairy tale "Kokyō" (Hometown) which appears in the collection *Otona no tame no zankoku dōwa* (Cruel Fairy Tales for Adults, 1984). In this paper I examine how Schäfer's nineteenth-century tale has been transformed by Ōgai's translation and Kurahashi's subsequent adaptation.

"Chichi to imōto"

Ōgai's translation of "Der Amerikawillm" ("Chichi to imōto") begins with an assertion that we all have gods on our backs. We don't have to obey them, he says, but the implication is that if we don't it will lead to trouble. Following this brief lesson, the narrator introduces the eponymous hero, Amerikawillm, who lives in the village of Raubach. Amerikawillm was only born in Raubach because the stork that was delivering him had dropped him off in the wrong place by mistake. Eventually the hero heads west and sets sail, presumably given his name, for America[2] where he meets and marries a rich and beautiful woman. It is here, he feels, that he should have been born. When Amerikawillm has time to reflect

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on his life he begins to think about his father and sister and he decides to return home with his wife. On their way to Raubach, they hear terrible rumors about Amerikawillm's family: his father has quit his job and started drinking, his brother (who he failed to mention to his wife) is in jail, and his sister, who now has two children, appears to have been working as a prostitute.

Leaving his wife at a nearby inn, Amerikawillm goes alone to his father's house. It is fifteen years since he has been there and when he arrives he finds that his sister has changed beyond all recognition. Rather than reveal his identity, Amerikawillm tells his sister that he is a stranger who has lost his way and that he needs somewhere to stay. Not recognizing him, she shows him to a room. Later, when she comes to ask him if he needs anything, she looks so weird that it is all he can do to stop himself from screaming. He takes some money out of his bag and hands it to her saying that it is for the children.

Wanting to get back to his wife as soon as possible, Amerikawillm makes his way downstairs, but when he gets to the bottom of the stairs he sees a man and a woman whispering to each other in the darkness. When he sees that the man is carrying an ax, he goes back to his room and barricades himself in. It isn't long before he hears footsteps approaching the room. Knowing that his father and sister are trying to kill him, Amerikawillm feels completely cut off from his family and, saddened rather than angry, he makes his escape through the window and returns to the inn where his wife is waiting.

The following morning, they leave the inn and begin their return journey. Safely on board ship, Amerikawillm's wife asks if they could have done anything for the children as they are innocent. Amerikawillm gets angry and says "Everyone is innocent but I don't want to get involved" (249). Then, pointing to the west, he mumbles to himself "we mustn't let people enter our house who have different gods" (249).

Mori Ōgai and Translation

Ōgai was fifty when his translation of "Der Amerikawillm" was published. He writes in his diary that he finished the tale on 30 January 1912 and dictated it to his editor, Suzuki Motojiro, (*Ōgai Zenshū* 10:611). It was published in April of the same year just three months before the death of the Meiji Emperor. The Meiji Period (1868-1912) had seen the rapid modernization of Japan and by 1912 the transformation from feudalism into a democratic world power had been accomplished. Unequal treaties with foreign powers had been revised and, following the Russo-Japanese war (1904-1905), it was also a period of increasing military power.

Ōgai joined the army in 1881 as a first lieutenant in the Army Medical Corps and was sent to Germany in August 1884 to study military hygiene. He was promoted to captain in 1885, and on his return to Japan (1888) he took up a position at the Army Medical School in Tokyo. It was while he was in Germany that his interest in literature evolved and in addition to Goethe and Hauptmann he also translated (from German) works by William Shakespeare, Henrik Ibsen, and Hans Christian Andersen.

When Ōgai began to translate European and American literature into Japanese, he was using a rather old-fashioned – *bungo* – style of writing which, as Nagashima Yōichi points out, was "a somewhat modified, refined and updated style of the so-called *gabuntai*" (86). As Nagashima explains, this rather refined literary style was "quite efficient" (86) for Ōgai's translation of Andersen's *The Improvisatore* as the tale – the tale of an Italian boy who, although born in the slums of Rome, finds success as a singer – was exotic and far enough removed from Japanese culture.[3] But with this *gabuntai* style Ōgai soon came to a dead end as he found it increasingly difficult to capture the essence of European culture. In Nagashima words "the European atmosphere of the original work was distorted in favor of 'Japanizing' the original, the better to render his translation readable" (87). After much experimentation, Ōgai eventually changed his translation strategy and, from around the beginning of the twentieth century, he began writing in a more colloquial – *kōgo* – style in which he could more easily convey European culture. Ōgai outlines this change in the short essay "Honyaku ni tsuite" ("On Translation")[4] in which he writes about some "ridiculous" (498) complaints that had been made about his translation of Ibsen's "A Doll's House." When one interlocutor, for example, suggested that he translate "macaroons" as "*amedama*" – rather than using katakana: *makuron*, he says the idea "simply boggles the mind" (498). In dismissing the idea of replacing unfamiliar Western elements with "an appropriately chosen item unique to Japan" (499), we see Ōgai's desire to create a faithful and reliable translation; now, rather than simply "Japanizing" the text as he had done, he was striving, in his words, "to avoid things unique to Japan, the better to produce an extraordinary effect" (499). By the time he translated "Der Amerikawillm" Ōgai was writing (and translating) exclusively in *kōgo* style.

Although there is no evidence in Ōgai's diaries as to why he chose to translate "Der Amerikawillm" other tales that he had translated – fantastic and gothic tales by writers such as Edgar Allan Poe, Oscar Wilde, Hugo von Hofmannsthal, and Arthur Schnitzler – suggest that he may have been drawn by the similarly eerie atmosphere of Schäfer's tale. It is also possible that he saw parallels between Japan's search for "civilization

and enlightenment" (*bunmei kaika*) and the changes in Germany that took place in the nineteenth century.

Nineteenth-Century Germany

In the early nineteenth century, Prussia was seen as the weakest of the European powers, but after the North German Confederation (1867) and victory in the Franco-Prussian War in 1871 Prime Minister Otto von Bismarck (1815-1898) succeeded in unifying the German empire. With unification, Germany's power increased and, in 1884 (the year in which Ōgai arrived in Germany), it began its colonization of East Africa.

At the time when "Der Amerikawillm" was published, the United States had undergone a period of rapid urbanization and industrial growth and by the 1890s it had already surpassed Britain and become the world's leading industrial nation. It was also a period of mass immigration and, notwithstanding Germany's own increasing power, it is not surprising that the protagonist of Schäfer's tale would join millions of other Europeans in pursuing his dream there.[5] Like so many fairy-tale heroes, Amerikawillm sets off to seek his fortune and leaves behind what he sees as the premodern world of provincial Raubach. After many trials and tribulations he succeeds in making his fortune and making a fortunate marriage. Then, like the prodigal son he decides to return to his family home. In contrast with the old world of Raubach, the new world in which he seeks his fortune is the modern, industrialized world that Germany (and, in Ōgai's time, Japan) aspired to.

Meiji Civilization and its Discontents

Meiji Japan's ideological pursuit of "civilization and enlightenment" was not without its discontents not least because the more that Western ideas and knowledge poured into the country the more the rural traditions and beliefs of Japan were being forgotten. Even the state ideologues (themselves architects of the policy of *bunmei kaika*) began to realize that modernization was having an adverse effect on rural life. And so, as Carol Gluck writes, "[c]onfronted with a modernity that threatened to shake the social foundations of the nation, the ideologues turned to the verities of the past – village and family, social harmony and communal custom – to cure civilization of its fevers so that society as they envisaged it might yet survive" (177-178).

One manifestation of this revalorization of rural life and traditions was the reawakening of what Gluck calls the agrarian myth, another came in the form of

Yanagita Kunio's collection of legends, *Tōno monogatari* (*The Legends of Tōno*, 1910), in which he hoped to preserve something of Japan's rapidly disappearing culture and oral traditions.[6] Even the army who were, as Gluck says, "not institutionally inclined to pastoral sentimentalism"(181) began to praise "the 'manners and mores of the people' (*ninjō fūzoku*) in the villages remote enough from cities and civilization to have preserved the rustic simple ways (*junboku na kifū*) of the past" (181). The army believed that village youths were physically strong whereas "the physiques of youth in general, weakened by the sedentary pursuits of education and non-agricultural occupations, were reported to be in continuous decline" (181). This rhetoric would, just two decades later, be echoed by the blood and soil nationalists in Nazi Germany who would appropriate Schäfer's work and, while emphasizing (German) ethnicity and the Homeland, also advocate a return from the cities (where decadence flourished) to the countryside.[7]

As an officer in the imperial army, Ōgai was not in a position to criticize or disagree with his superiors and, although he may have seen in Schäfer's tale a reflection of Japan's (and indeed his own) pursuit of "civilization and enlightenment," the title that he gave his translation of "Der Amerikawillm," "Chichi to imōto," refocuses the tale on the family and the village in a way that appears to support official pronouncements that valorized the countryside. What he could not do, however, was change the fact that what the protagonist discovers when he returns to his native village is so grim that it merely confirms his belief that he doesn't belong there; in fact, when he arrives in Raubach he compares it to entering "another world" (245). A world that he no longer recognizes.

Kurahashi's Adaptation

Although Kurahashi Yumiko's adaptation of Ōgai's translation of Schäfer's "Der Amerikawillm" is called "Kokyō" (hometown) it rejects any romantic notions of a return to an idealized past. As she points out in the afterword (*atogaki*), she has no interest in "unnecessary descriptions of nature, or superfluous psychological descriptions" (199).[8] She insists that "the fairy-tale world unfolds systematically, in a well-ordered manner, and neither sympathy nor sentimentality can influence the outcome of the story" (199). In addition to stripping the tale of unnecessary descriptions of nature and superfluous psychological descriptions, Kurahashi adds her own twists and turns to the tale as she creates a fairy tale for adults.

Kurahashi begins this stripping down process by eliminating the names of the protagonist and his hometown; in doing so she gives us a typical fairy-tale beginning in

which – once upon a time – an unnamed man sets off on a journey from an unnamed country to seek his fortune in the big wide world. Although the protagonist's hometown is also nameless, Kurahashi does retain the names of the protagonist's family: Fritz, his father, Karl, his brother, and Anna, his sister. Thus, despite the universalizing fairy-tale opening, the tale does retain a European atmosphere. Kurahashi also integrates the beginning of Schäfer's tale into the narrative of the story. Rather than the narrator telling us that we all have gods on our backs that we cannot deny, the protagonist's wife one day brings home a mirror which she has purchased from an Arabian merchant. According to the merchant, we all have gods on our backs (gods which reflect the blood and soil nationalism of the Nazis) "white people have white gods, black people have black gods and although each of these gods differs in form and facial features, they not only betray our bloodlines, but also our birthplace." (128). Having looked at the reflection of his wife's god, "an intelligent-looking woman with a well-rounded figure; she had the unmistakable air of a noblewoman" (128), he looks at the reflection of his own god: an insignificant-looking, middle-aged man who had what seemed to be the shadow of abject poverty hanging over him. He is ashamed of having his origins revealed in this way; however, he begins to think about his father (who he seems to have almost forgotten) and, persuaded by his wife, decides, like Amerikawillm, to return to his place of birth (*kokyō*).[9]

On the return journey, the protagonist and his wife discover (as Amerikawillm and his wife discover) that his father "spends most of his time drinking" (129), his brother is "doing time" (129), and that his sister, in addition to being involved in prostitution, also seems to have committed incest.[10] The protagonist leaves his wife at a nearby hotel and goes to visit his father and sister alone. Like Amerikawillm, he does not reveal his identity, but (in a change from Schäfer's tale) they are running an inn, so there is a logical reason for him to ask for lodgings. His sister smiles at him, but "her warm, and seemingly friendly, smile was so forced that it made her sickeningly ugly, beast-like face even more weirdly distorted than ever" (130). He takes some money from his bag, and like Amerikawillm, gives it to her saying that it is for the children. Then, wanting to "reassure himself that their gods were different from his own" (130) he takes out the mirror and "while pretending to smooth his hair, looked at the gods that were supposed to be behind his father and sister" (130). When he looks he cannot even tell if the faces he sees are human. Having been shown to his room, the protagonist is so terrified of the "beasts" downstairs that he finds sleep out of the question. He peeps through the door and, when he sees that his father is carrying a meat cleaver, he realizes that they are planning to

kill him for his money and the mirror. He closes the door and, rather than barricading himself in, like Amerikawillm, lies down on the bed. It isn't long before his sister enters the room and tries to seduce him. The protagonist is appalled, but when he attempts to get away his father lunges at him with the meat cleaver. Then, as someone starts banging on the front door, the man throws himself out of the window. In a further change made by Kurahashi, the man is rescued by his wife who, rather than wait passively for him to return, uses her connections in the area to get the local officials to help.

Shortly after returning "home" (*jibun no ie*) the man and his wife learn not only that his father and sister have been hung but also that "they had used the same method to commit other heinous crimes" (131-132). What is worse, "they had both also confessed to having carried out their attack on the man whilst fully aware that their victim was the son and brother who had returned to the family home for the first time in twenty years" (132). Following this revelation, the man decides to forget about his family.

Kurahashi adds a moral to the tale – "in the manner of *Aesop's Fables*" (202) – which warns readers not to seek their roots. In addition to family, ethnic, and cultural origins "roots" here refers to everything that *kokyō* implies. Although *kokyō* may have sentimental overtones for some, there is nothing sentimental in Kurahashi's tale. The return "home" has been an abject failure and, but for his wife's intervention, it would have been fatal for the protagonist. He knows that he has made a mistake and although his wife finds that her gods have been useful he says "I just don't think we should be looking at our gods in that mirror"(131). Like Amerikawillm, he rejects his hometown, but unlike him he does not accept that our destinies are in the hands of the gods. With the rejection of the mirror, of gods and everything implied by *kokyō*, Kurahashi's protagonist begins to forget about his family, and as he looks forward and we leave him at the beginning of the happy end.

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Notes

1. Mori Ōgai, who was born Mori Rintaro, is best known by his nom-de plume: Ōgai.
2. It should be noted that in Schäfer's tale it only states that the protagonist boards a ship and goes west; however, his name, Amerikawillm, suggests that his destination is the United States.
3. Ōgai's translation of Andersen's *The Improvisatore* was published in 1901 as *Sokkyō shijin*.
4. The translation of "Honyaku ni tsuite" is by Matt Treyvaud. For the complete text in English see *Néojaponisme* (Web). The page numbers in parenthesis refer to the Japanese text.
5. Between 1850 and 1930 some five million Germans emigrated to the United States.
6. One hundred years before the publication of *Tōno monogatari*, Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm published their famous collection *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* in order to, as Donald Haase writes, "preserve the heritage of the German people as it was expressed in the language of the oral traditions of the 'common folk'" (663).
7. Schäfer was a celebrated member of the *heimatkunst* (regional art) movement who, according to Tezuka and Kōshina, considered him to be the "guardian of the soul of the German race" (273). Unsurprisingly, his work appealed to the National Socialists who, in 1933, appointed him to the Prussian Poets' Academy.
8. The translations of the "Atogaki" and "Kokyō" are from a forthcoming translation of *Otona no tame no zankoku dōwa* by Marc Sebastian-Jones. Page numbers refer to the Japanese text.
9. In Ōgai's translation of Schäfer's tale the word *kokyō* appears only once. In a description of the protagonist's village.
10. It might be worth noting here that in contrast to the Grimm Brothers who tended to purge the sexual content of their tales, Kurahashi often adds details as she does here with the reference to incest.

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「アメリカヰルム」
――19 世紀ドイツ短編小説の森鴎外の翻訳と、倉橋由美子の翻案に関する一考察

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森鴎外（1862-1922）は多彩な才能の持ち主であるが、外国文学、特にドイツ文学の翻訳でも有名である。彼はシェーファー Wilhelm Schaefer（1868-1952）の「アメリカヰルム」“Der Amerikawillm”（1897）を「父と妹」(1912)という題名で翻訳している。本稿は鴎外の翻訳「父と妹」を中心に扱う。また、鴎外の翻訳に倉橋由美子（1935-2005）がアレンジを施し、「故郷」（1984）という題名で一遍の童話に改変している。三作品とも題名が異なっていることに注目し、シェーファーの作品が、鴎外の翻訳によって、そして倉橋由美子のアダプテーションによって、如何に改変されたかを考察したい。

まずは、あまり知られていない鴎外の翻訳「父と妹」を紹介する。そして、鴎外がこの作品を翻訳した頃の時代背景を述べる。この翻訳作品が発表された1912年は、明治天皇が崩御し、大正時代が始まる時代の転換期である。明治時代の日本は文明開化によって近代化が急速に進んだ時期であり、日露戦争により、軍事力も西欧列強に肩を並べることになる。鴎外は軍医として任官され、ドイツへの留学を命じられている。

鴎外はドイツ留学により、ドイツ文学文化にますます興味を持つようになる。彼が翻訳を始めた当初は、雅文体を用いた。しかし、間もなく、雅文体では当時のヨーロッパ文化を正確にとらえ、読者に伝えることは難しいことに気付き、口語体を使うようになる。彼は「アメリカヰルム」をこの口語体を利用して、「父と妹」として翻訳している。当時、鴎外は様々な怪奇小説の翻訳を手掛けており、「父と妹」もその一連の流れの中で訳されたと思われる。

シェーファーの「アメリカヰルム」という題名を、鴎外は「父と妹」と改題しているが、その題名の違いに、それぞれの国の時代背景が垣間見える。シェーファーのつけた「アメリカヰルム」という題名は、主人公の名前であるが、明らかにアメリカ合衆国を意識している。シェーファーの「アメリカヰルム」が出版された時期、アメリカは工業大国になっていた。アメリカヰルムは近代化以前の生まれ故郷を離れ、様々な困難の末に成功する。故郷に錦を飾るべく帰郷することを決めるが、彼が求めているのは、旧世界の故郷ではなく、当時ドイ

ツが目指していたような、近代化され、工業化された世界であった。

鴎外が「父と妹」として翻訳を発表した当時、急速に推し進められてきた日本の近代化（西欧化）に対して疑問を呈する風潮が出てきた。そして、田舎の伝統や生活に再び価値が見出されるようになる。鴎外は「父と妹」に改題することで、家族や田舎に焦点を当てている。主人公は故郷に帰った際あまりに恐ろしい経験をして、自分はこの世界の人間ではないことを確信する。故郷は彼には覚えのない別世界となっていた。

最後に、倉橋由美子の翻案「故郷」を考察する。彼女は鴎外の「父と妹」に手を加え、「故郷」と改題して大人のための童話にしている。翻案するに際し、彼女の童話の理論に従って、鴎外の翻訳から「余計な心理描写と自然描写」を削除し、さらには物語にひねりを加え、「大人のための」話に改変している。鴎外の翻訳と倉橋の翻案を具体的に比較し、変更点を指摘し、その意味を論じた。そして彼女はこの物語の最後に、「汝のルーツを求めるべからず」という教訓を挙げている。この教訓を検討し、倉橋の「故郷」と、シェーファーの「アメリカヰルム」および鷗外の「父と妹」との明確な違いを述べた。